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881 534 175 This is what I was informed, on this occasion, in regard to the Devil, about whom there had been a previous report that conforms to what is said also about the Aisures, which farther below they call Solimões, and the other nations which have similar communications.[18]

881 276 *The ceremonial taking of snuff.*—As far as I could establish, flagellation was never practiced by the Tukuna, who have, however, another ceremony linked directly with the ceremonial musical instruments—the taking of a coarse snuff called ka′/vị. The principal ingredient is a powder of toasted tobacco. The other constituents are bark ash of *cupuhy*, bark ash of pau mulato, ash of green banana peel, ash of the fruit rind of envira de matamatá, and a yellow lichen that grows preferably on the bark of the *javarí* palm, from which it is scraped. This lichen is said to belong to a demon named po′panẹ.

881 276 237 The mixture is rubbed through a piece of woven cloth so that an extremely fine powder is formed. *Paricá* (*Piptadenia peregrina*, Benth.) does not enter into its composition. The powder is kept in a special container made from a large, white snail shell (mẽ′ru), the aperture of which is sealed by a plug of mirror glass held by wax. Thrust into the apex of the shell, and also held firm by wax, is a short tube of hollow bird bone, about the thickness of a pencil, through which the powder is removed. Formerly, for the taking of this snuff, there was a device called ta′ru, made of a bamboo tube or tubular bone of the royal hawk, bifurcated by quills of the same bird to form two tubes, firmly joined with wax. (ta′ru also means "fire fan"; kvẽkura′/ṅ is "snuffer.") Today this device is replaced by a single bamboo tube some seven centimeters long.

276 881 The ka′/vị is taken within the enclosure, by night if in the presence of the uaricána, by day, in its absence. The host administers it to the men who present themselves, placing the snuff in the bamboo tube, inserting one end of this in whichever nostril the taker may desire, and then blowing strongly at the other end.

Formerly, the forked quills of the device allowed the ka′/vị to be blown into both nostrils simultaneously. As soon as a man receives the first application, he immediately closes his eyes, bows his head, and seeks a place where he can lie down or can lean against something. He is visibly stupefied, supporting his head on his hand or knees, yet I have never seen anyone lose his senses, and after some three minutes the effect passes.

When the uaricánas are in the enclosure at night, there invariably appear some little boys seven years of age and over, who circle the corral, full of curiosity and eager to learn what is taking place. Since they know what will happen to them if caught by the tə′kị-tanị" (the persons in charge of the uaricánas), and they are afraid, they dare each other in order to get up their courage, until finally the men in charge of the uaricánas pounce on them and force them to take ka′/vị. At that age the effect is even more violent, especially as regards loss of the senses, but I have never heard that it stimulates dreams or visions. When it takes effect, the boys are permitted to drink from the jar that stands next to the instruments, leaning against the wall of the enclosure; henceforth they have free access to the enclosure, being allowed to see and touch the statues and instruments. Perhaps in the old days this initiation of the boys into the mysteries of the ceremonial instruments was more solemn than now, when it is already on the road to disappearance because of increasing profanation of these mysteries.

[18] Fritz, Diario, p. 378.

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the spirits' arrows. Also, the spirits of dead trees may be present anywhere in the neighborhood and wound those with whom they collide. A person with an overheated body feels the arrow wound from a spirit as a fillip with the fingertips. This is the supposed cause of some deaths, due ultimately to the malefactions of some shaman. The most dangerous tree of all is the *caapi cipó* (*Banisteria* sp.), which the Tukuna know only by its Peruvian name of *ayahuasca*, sometimes corrupted into čučuva'ču. It is strange that they are unaware of the plant's qualities; because of this ignorance they do not prepare from it any narcotic, as do the neighboring Indians. Thus, they know that the Kokáma possess a plant which produces visions; but only one Tukuna, now deceased, learned from them its use as a narcotic, and he did not pass the knowledge along to anyone else.

According to my informants, the chief Domingos čų'nekį, a curing shaman (p. 65) had a different method of stimulating visions. There is a cultivated tree with small, white, calycine flowers which, when broken open, exhibit a liquid. Placing drops of this in his eyes, čų'nekį succeeded in seeing the demon dyë'vaë (see p. 120), as well as other demons (ñɔɔ'), and the tree spirits; he could also discover his enemies. Other trees possessing spirits are the kapok, *sumahuma*, whose spirit is identified with the forest demon Caapora of the lingua geral, the *manizy* (?), the *açacú* (*Hura crepitans*), the muirapiranga, the *ucuhuba* (*Virola* sp.), and a tree which reaches at the most a diameter of fifteen centimeters and is called in Tukuna na'i^{a}-ya-dyu'į, that is, "shaman log." Its wood has an odor similar to that of laurel, and the soil around its trunk is always barren.

Instruction of a shaman.—Any person who wishes to become a shaman must be placed in contact with the spirits of the trees by another person already initiated. Some shamans begin to educate their sons when the boys are six years old. Usually, however, the aspirant betakes himself to a master of recognized fame, whom he pays for instruction. This teacher begins only after sunset. Within only two months' time the disciple (nyëna'rįkatį) possesses the most necessary knowledge for curing through suction and by the application of herbs or other medicinal substances.

During this period of instruction he must abstain from sexual intercourse and must follow a diet, eating only certain fishes (cachorra, trahira, sardinha, curimatá, caraüacú vermelho, and jejú, but no scaleless fish) and green bananas, taking care that these last are straight and not curved as they usually are. Among birds especially recommended to him are macucáua (*Tinamus* sp.) and *tangurupará* (*Monassa* sp.). All of his food must contain very little salt; he should completely abstain from pepper, fats, sweets, and alcoholic beverages and should also avoid exposure to the sun.

Initiation is in two parts: in the first, the master presents to the disciple a portion of the magical substances in his body; in the second, he places him in contact with the spirits of the trees. The disciple is specially prepared for the initiation; he must drink a gourdful of tobacco infusion so as to vomit all impurities (puya) acquired through sexual contact; after which he must wash out his mouth. The infusion leaves him in a state of narcosis. The master, by massaging his own body, directs toward his mouth all the magical substances which he possesses, vomiting them in the form of slime (ta:'kaka; l.g., *tacacá*, a beverage of manioc starch). Holding the slime in the palm of his hand, he shows this to the disciple, inviting him to

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(naa'ō) of Marcellino had left his body in a dream and gone far up the Solimões to kill people in Peru. There it was wounded by a shaman's knife, and when it returned, Marcellino died of this wound, blood welling up from his mouth. He vomited two potfuls of ta:'kaka, after which he bade farewell to all: "The soul of my deceased mother has just arrived; now I shall go with her!" he said, and died. 754

Calixto daueru'kị told me that the magic songs leave the shaman's body in the form of wasps, lizards, and other small creatures, coming forth from the mouth and disappearing immediately. Nino, in spite of the experience related above, was of the opinion that the magic substances "died of hunger" within the body of the shaman.

The shaman's trance.—Every shaman has certain specific methods of curing, according to his own personal experience. Nino told me how the old shaman Romão proceeded when he undertook cures, at which the informant had been present many times. First, the doctor placed a wad of cut tobacco in each cheek, sat down next to the sufferer—later ordering a cleared place prepared behind him—and began his invocations. After some time, he coughed, fell backward and, shaking his knees, began to sing. It was a tree spirit that had entered his body, singing now through his mouth and declaring that it had caused the disease by command of sorcerer So-and-so. The voice came from Romão's throat as if it came from one of those thick bamboo horns, kɔ'i"ri, used at the puberty ceremony by moiety B. It was said that he had a bumblebee in his throat which caused the sound. When Romão became senile, the insect abandoned him, and he never sang again. After the song, Romão got up to suck from the sufferer's body the pathogenic material. Songs and sucking were thus repeated several times. After the cure was completed, he spat out the tobacco into a special little pot, which he threw away afterward. 755 [754]

It appears to me that it was a cure of this type which Lewis Herndon surprised and interrupted in 1851 at Tabatinga: 755 175 [114]

> After dark he [the missionary] proposed that we should go out and see some of the incantations of the Indians for the cure of the sick. We heard music at a distance, and approached a large house whence it proceeded, in which the padre said there was almost always someone sick. We listened at the door, which was closed. There seemed to be a number of persons singing inside. I was almost enchanted myself. I never heard such tones, and think that even instrumental music could not be made to equal them. . . . I had heard nothing like this before. The tones were so low, so faint, so guttural, and at the same time so sweet and clear that I could scarcely believe they came from human throats; and they seemed fitting sounds in which to address spirits of another world. . . . The noise we made in opening the door caused a hasty retreat of some persons, which we could hear and partly see; and when we entered, we found but two Indians—an old man and a young one—sitting on the floor by a little heap of flaming copal, engaged in chewing tobacco and spitting it in an earthen pot before them. The young man turned his face to the wall with a sullen look, and although the old man smiled when he was patted on the head and desired to proceed with his music, yet it was with a smile that had no mirth of satisfaction in it and showed plainly that he was annoyed, and would have expressed his annoyance had he dared.[a]

Shamans' pipes.—Formerly, the shamans also smoked pipes instead of tauarí cigarettes. These pipes, čim|ta'pa (čim|, centipede), made of black marajá palm wood, were from 15 to 20 cm. long and cone-shaped. The bowl in which the tobacco was placed was between 3 and 4 cm. in diameter. The pipe was smoked through a 756 276

[a] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:236.

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lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

Soul loss.—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition, there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyë'vaë and the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ñua'čina, had been stolen when the child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so forth, and always dies sooner or later.

Cure of epidemics.—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indicated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by smoking.

Dreams.—During a dream, the soul (naa'ë) abandons the body and has its own adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury to the soul of a warlock in a dream excursion caused the warlock's death. Some adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future. If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive, however, disease is on the way.

Female witchcraft.—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw

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Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the Solimões, which caused an extremely dangerous current costing many lives (see p. 67) and sometimes made it impracticable for anyone to enter the igarapé. The shaman Domingos čũ'nekį—who was the last true chief of the Tukuna of this igarapé and was grandfather of the shaman Calixto dauerũ'kį—once passed this place with four other Indians and, finding the current extraordinarily violent, said: "Someone must have irritated the dyë'vaë!" He made an infusion of tobacco in a gourd, drinking it through his nostrils, rolled two long tauarí cigarettes and smoked for a long time. What he did later, Calixto, who was still a boy, did not see, because he slept during the ceremony, but by the next morning the rough current was smooth and quiet.

Later, he heard the old man tell how he had almost failed to return from his visit to the dyë'vaë, and say that now the demon was his friend because he had given him a tobacco infusion to drink through his nostrils. The demon had also told the name of the person who had enraged him, and since then the spot has not been dangerous. Twice a dyë'vaë tried to run aground on his back, "like on a beach," the canoe in which Calixto was traveling. On one of these occasions the leaves of the trees appeared to him like a kaleidoscope of colors from the reflection of the dyë'vaë's colors. Calixto saved himself by hanging onto the paddle with all his strength.

Once, during a thunderstorm, in a deep sinkhole (poço) in the Rio Solimões, near the old village of Santa Cruz dos Kokáma, Calixto saw a dyë'vaë raise his head and neck in the form of a hook above the waters of the river, slowly sinking again. When the head touched the surface of the water, there was a flash of lightning, produced by the demon's opening his eyes beneath the water. This dyë'vaë owns the fish in the Solimões" and appears as the eastern rainbow; the dyë'vaë of the western rainbow is the owner of potter's clay [see p. 46]. The legendary mortal enemy of all the dyë'vaë clan is tau/čipë', who, though of human origin, by his education in the subaquatic world acquired demoniacal qualities that at last turned him into an enemy of humanity.

tau/čipë'

A woman in the last stage of pregnancy went to fetch clay with which to make pottery. dyë'vaë, the owner of the clay, became infuriated, pulled her beneath the water, and swallowed her. Arriving home, he vomited her up and quartered her. He and his companions kept the fetus for roe. A female of the large rays asked for it, and they gave her the fetus. She cradled it carefully beneath the undersurface of her flat body, swimming with it to the calm water near the bank. There she deposited it, curving her body over it, and brooded over it a long time. At last she heard the child cry. She removed him and gave him suck. Then, with great care, so as not to drown him, she carried him to her dwelling beneath the water. The ray brought up the child and gave him the name of tau/čipë'. She told him that she was not his mother, who had been killed by the dyë'vaë. She made a magic basketwork, placed it on the boy's head, and interlaced his hair with it so that the hair, and with it the boy's strength, would increase.

tau/čipë' wanted to kill the dyë'vaë immediately, but the ray advised him not to try it yet, because he was still very weak. When he was six years old, his hair had already grown down to his belt, and he again insisted on attempting to fight the dyë'vaë, but his foster mother still would not permit it. Two more years passed, and by then his hair had grown down to his heels; then he wished to delay no longer. He broke off branches of the *tazyeiro* tree[11] with fire ants

[11] See the legend of mo'manaʼki, pp. 151–153.
[11] *Tachygalia* sp. or *Sclerolobium* sp.?

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861 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punish-
824 ment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls
524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times,
881 young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.

114 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930,
838 p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406)
[114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condi-
[626] tion requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

[342] The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety.
[532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

[262] Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning
[574] her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances
[202] receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date,
[534] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclu-
[534] sion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco
[276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older cus-
[562] tomarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instru-
[858] ments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 534 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

[177]

526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

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273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

[177] [733]

SHAMANISM

754 756 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others. These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

[755]

[276]

753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 672 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers

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however, that the idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or Creator had not entered the minds of these Indians. There is great similarity in all their ceremonies and mummeries, whether the object is a wedding, the celebration of the feast of fruits, the plucking of the hair from the heads of their children, or a holiday got up simply out of a love of dissipation. Some of the tribes on these occasions deck themselves with the bright-coloured feathers of parrots and macaws. The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast-feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown. The cinctures of the arms and legs are also then ornamented with bunches of feathers. Others wear masked dresses: these are long cloaks reaching below the knee, and made of the thick whitish-coloured inner bark of a tree, the fibres of which are interlaced in so regular a manner, that the material looks like artificial cloth. The cloak covers the head; two holes are cut out for the eyes, a large round piece of the cloth stretched on a rim of flexible wood is stitched on each side to represent ears, and the features are painted in exaggerated style with yellow, red, and black streaks. The dresses are sewn into the proper shapes with thread made of the inner bark of the Uaissíma tree. Sometimes grotesque head-dresses, representing monkeys' busts or heads of other animals, made by stretching cloth or skin over a basket-work frame, are worn at these holidays. The biggest and ugliest mask represents the Jurupari. In these festival habiliments the Tucúnas go through their monotonous see-saw and stamping dances, accompanied by singing and drumming, and keep up the sport often for three or four days and nights in succession, drinking enormous quantities of caysúma, smoking tobacco, and snuffing paricá powder.

I could not learn that there was any deep symbolical meaning in these masked dances, or that they commemorated any past event in the history of the tribe. Some of them seem vaguely intended as a propitiation of the Jurupari, but the masker who represents the demon sometimes gets drunk along with the rest, and is not treated with any reverence. From all I could make out, these Indians preserve no memory of events going beyond the times of their fathers or grandfathers. Almost every joyful event is made the occasion of a festival: weddings amongst the rest. A young man who wishes to wed a Tucúna girl has to demand her hand of her parents, who arrange the rest of the affair, and fix a day for the marriage ceremony. A wedding which took place in the Christmas week whilst I was at St. Paulo, was kept up with great spirit for three or four days, flagging during the heats of mid-day, but renewing itself with increased vigour every evening. During the whole time the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the older squaws, whose business seemed to be sedulously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boosing. The Tucúnas have the singular custom, in common with the Collínas and Mauhés, of treating their young girls on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the girao under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment.